101 131 considered here but will be discussed in a forthcoming section concerned with the peoples of the eastern shore of southern Lake Tanganyika and adjacent regions.

In brief, the Bemba-Lala-Lamba-Kaonde groups, with their closely related sub-groups, occupy almost the whole of North-eastern Rhodesia and the northern parts of North-western Rhodesia, besides adjacent areas of the Belgian Congo.

132 133 161 With the exception of the swamp-dwelling groups, the Unga and the Twa, all live under broadly similar conditions. Plentiful rainfall waters the generally unproductive plateau soils covered by deciduous woodland. The density of population which such land can carry is small, reaching only to about 12 persons per square mile, and this figure is not exceeded, or even approached, except in reserves where local over-population of a serious nature occurs, and in the swamp areas where inundation creates a land shortage either permanent or seasonal. The total population of the selected groups can be reckoned to be about 440,000.

GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

197 The languages of these peoples are closely similar, so much so that the whole group of peoples in this area has been loosely termed "Bemba-speaking".(1) Guthrie, however, distinguishes within one of his linguistic zones *Bemba* with *Aushi* as a sub-dialect; *Tabwa* with *Shila* as a sub-dialect; and a further group of closely related languages, *Bisa*, *Lamba*, *Lala*, *Sanga*, and *Sewa*.(2) He places *Kaonde* in a different linguistic zone, L, because it has certain distinct features, such as a single prefix in independent nominals, which make it more closely related to the Luba group of languages. No mention is made of the languages spoken by other small groups closely related to the Bemba, such as Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi, and Bwile. What little is known about the languages spoken by the Unga and Twa suggests that they may be closely related to Bisa.

174 173 There is apparently little linguistic evidence to support the tradition held by all these peoples that they originated in areas west of the Luapula from peoples of Luba stock, although Richards says that Bemba told her that archaic words they used in ceremonies at their Paramount's court were "Ciluba".

105 These people practise shifting cultivation with finger millet as the staple crop in the east and cassava in the west. The absence of cattle in the area distinguishes them from the Manbwe to the north and some of the Ngoni to the east. The greater part of the area lies within the tsetse belt, but Lambo mentions that cattle were used as marriage payments among the Lala, and a few goats and sheep are kept by the Bemba and probably by other tribes. Hunting was highly developed in the west of the area before the arrival of Europeans and hunting guilds and associations are recorded.

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p. 16, and Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Guthrie, 1948. A zone is both a geographical and a linguistic concept in that the languages within it have both linguistic affinities and geographical propinquity.

4: Whiteley E-4 (no date) 1950 FQS Bemba FQS
Senga

VI. A NOTE ON THE SENGA

(A Tumbuka-ised offshoot of the Bisa
in the upper Luangwa valley)

161 POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

No figures specific to the Senga are available but Moffat Thomson[1] gives a figure of 67,477 for both Senga and Nsenga, while Poole gives 44,000 for the Nsenga in 1930. This suggests a figure of 23,000 for the Senga.

A rough idea of the density of population may be found in the figures for administrative districts in 1934[2] and in 1947 (c).[2]

	1934		1947
Chinsali	3.46	per square mile	3.7
Lundazi	5.49	" " "	5.9

A number of Senga share Northern reserve no. 13 with other groups.

LANGUAGE

197 The difference between the Senga and the Nsenga is to be seen in language, although confusion has obscured the difference for some years. For instance, Madan's[3] *Senga Handbook* actually refers to the Nsenga, as does Ranger's *Chinsenga Grammar*,[4] although it is not clear from the latter's preface whether he includes the Senga and thus confuses them. Doke[5] makes no reference to Senga as distinct from Nsenga, but whether from lack of material or from the belief that there was no distinction is not clear. Guthrie,[6] however, draws a distinction. While he places both Senga and Nsenga in the same linguistic zone, Senga is considered to be a dialect of Tumbuka while Nsenga is a language in a different group, more closely related to languages spoken in Portuguese East Africa. While paucity of information on Senga precludes anything more than this tentative classification, the available evidence suggests a fairly well marked linguistic difference between the two.

HISTORY

174 Tribal traditions seem to agree that the Senga originally migrated eastwards from the Luapula in company with the Bisa, of whom indeed they formed a part.[7] After a period spent near Lake Bangweulu, from which they were dislodged by Bemba raids, they crossed the Luangwa river about 1800, a date tentatively suggested by Poole. On their arrival here there seems to have been considerable intermarriage with the Tumbuka on the plateau to the east of the river, as a result of which some similarity to Tumbuka customs may be expected.

Bemba and Ngoni raids seem always to have been a menace, even in the

(1) Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Pim, 1938, and *Report of the Financial Relationship Committee*, 1949.
(3) Madan, 1905.
(4) Ranger, 1928.
(5) Doke, 1945.
(6) Guthrie, 1948.
(7) Poole, 1934.

175 Some Tabwa came with the British South African Company, and a group of Manbwe followed the missionaries to Mbereshi. From 1910 until 1922, when the villages returned to their old sites, the river belt had to be evacuated owing to the menace of sleeping sickness. The development of mining in the Katanga and the Copperbelt created a demand for labour and opened a market for the Luapula fish. The expansion of the fish trade organised by Greek refugees in the late 1920s stimulated a new influx of immigrants to the valley, many of them from across the Belgian Congo border. The present Kazembe, Chinyanta Nankula, is the fourteenth holder of the office.

LANGUAGE

197 The various dialects of Bemba (*Shila, Tabwa, Lunga, Aushi, Cinalunda*) spoken in the valley are not necessarily related to the tribal origins of the people. Cinalunda is a Bemba dialect with a slight Kaonde admixture. The use of *Cilunda*, the language of the western (Congo) Lunda, and of its modified form, *Kanpokolo*,(1) has never spread beyond the court circles. Both died out during the nineteenth century and now only survive in the traditional praise-formulae composed for each Kazembe on his accession, and as the drum-language.

[202]

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

133 Rapid-free and easily navigable in its lower course, the Luapula flows towards Lake Mweru at an altitude of some 3,000 feet down a flat, trough-like valley in which "sandstones of the Katanga system, granites and other rocks are overlaid by deep soil accumulations".(2) The flat floor of the valley rises steeply to the Chishinga plateau and more gently to the Kundelungu range on the Congo side. The river, in places overgrown by sudd vegetation, carries masses of floating papyrus. Except for a ten-mile stretch at Lukwesa and a four-mile one at Chisenga, its eastern bank is bordered by a belt of permanent swamp widening towards Lake Mweru. Sandbanks and patches of hard land are more in evidence down the western side. The swampy, seasonally flooded margin, up to ten miles wide, is studded with pools and lagoons and intersected by transverse channels giving access to the river from the villages. Flood-plain grasslands are burned in the dry season. The adjacent strip of fertile, alluvial land, not subject to floods, contains practically the whole population of the Rhodesian side. Further east, towards the escarpment, stretches for some twenty miles a bush-covered, almost uninhabited no-man's-land (*mulunda*) well stocked with wild fauna. Slow-flowing streams make their way down the open grassy *dambo* valleys to the Luapula.

132 The climate is of the savannah type with a single rainy season from October-November to April-May. The annual rainfall, lower in the valley than on the sheltering plateau, ranges from 36 inches at Chiengi (which lies on the Lake Mweru basin but outside Kazembe's kingdom) to 46 inches at Johnston Falls.(3) The mean minimum temperature at Chiengi, (the only records available) is 66.4°F.(4)

(1) Valdez, II, pp.228 and 243.
(2) Trapnell, 1943, p.1.
(3) ibid, p.2.
(4) ibid, p.3.

7: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

(b) The common language (*Cibemba*), which forms a distinct dialect in native eyes, although it does not differ very considerably from the neighbouring *Cibisa* or *Cilala*. (*c*) The tribal mark, a vertical cut on each temple about 1 in. long behind the eyes. (*d*) The common historical traditions of the people—even young men at the present day speak with pride of the coming of their fathers from Lubaland, and take delight in describing the military exploits of their ancestors and the ferocity of the old chiefs. (*e*) Their allegiance to a common paramount chief, the Citimukulu, whose overlordship of the Bemba territory is unquestioned.

(*b*) *Social Grouping*. (1) *Kinship*. The Bemba are a matrilineal tribe practising matrilocal marriage. Descent is reckoned through the mother and a man is legally identified with a group of relatives composed of his maternal grandmother and her brothers and sisters, his mother and her brothers and sisters, and his own brothers and sisters. His membership of this group determines his succession to different offices and his status in the community, although in a matrilocal society it only occasionally determines his residence. He also belongs to a wider descent group, the clan (*umukoa*, plur. *imikoa*) which is also traced in the woman's line. Each *umukoa* is distinguished by the name of an animal, plant, or natural phenomenon, such as rain. It has a legend of origin usually describing the split-off of the clan ancestors from the original lineage group, and an honorific title or form of greeting. Clans are in effect exogamous, since a man may not marry a woman he calls 'mother', 'sister', or 'daughter', and these terms are extended to the limits of clan membership on the maternal side. Through his clan affiliation, a man traces his descent, rank —if he belongs to the royal clan—rights to succeed to certain offices, such as hereditary councillorship (cf. pp. 100, 108), and claims to his relatives' help and hospitality.

Some clans have a higher status than others, according to whether their original ancestors arrived in the country as part of the following of the first Citimukulu, or alternatively, split off as a separate descent group later. Thus the crocodile clan (*Bena ŋandu*) is the *umukoa* of the first immigrant chief and stands highest in status (cf. 'Rank'), while various others, such as the fish clan, millet clan, &c., are said to be of similar antiquity. The hereditary councillors described later belong to these clans. All the *imikoa* are paired with opposite clans that perform reciprocal ritual